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Araucanian Patri-Organization and the Omaha System

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THE thesis of this paper is that Araucanian society has been patrilineally organized since the time of the Conquest, but that the appearance of the Omaha system is a very recent development and not fully representative of Araucanian society. It is concerned, therefore, with the development of Araucanian social organization under four sections: (1) brief review of two basic assumptions about the development of Araucanian kinship and social organization; (2) examination of historic kinship terminology and other data on social organization, in connection with these assumptions; (3) presentation of data obtained in the field in 1953, and other recent material on Araucanian kinship and social organization; and (4) an interpretation of the development of Araucanian social organization on the basis of historical material and the present pattern of distribution.

For about three centuries the Araucanian Indians of Chile withstood the large-scale colonization of their native habitat, Araucanía. These so-called "fighting Araucanians" came to be known by the generic term "Mapuche" which means, in their language, "people of the land."

During the period of Spanish colonization the Mapuche lived between the Bío-Bío River and an ill-defined boundary north of the town of Valdivia, in a rather thickly forested area which lies between the Andes and the Pacific. North of the Bío-Bío River lived the Pinuche Indians, who were closely related to the Mapuche and were part of the over-all Araucanian group. From the environs of Valdivia south to the Island of Chiloé, the more open country was inhabited by the Huilliche Araucanians or "people of the south." These cultural subgroups shared a common language, Araucanian, the regional dialects of which were mutually intelligible.

Today only the Mapuche remain as a large, easily definable ethnic group in southern Middle Chile. The Pinuche were rapidly acculturated during the early colonial period. The Huilliche, for the most part, have been absorbed into the mestizo population between the southern limits of Araucanía and the Island of Chiloé.

Perhaps the most ambitious thesis dealing with the evolution of Araucanian society was presented by Ricardo E. Latcham (1938), who drew heavily on colonial documents for supplementation to field work he conducted among the Mapuche in Cautín Province, the heart of Araucanía. The premises upon which Latcham based his fundamental arguments in favor of matrilineal organization do not bear close scrutiny. Nevertheless, he stands out with Guevara Silva as one of the most assiduous students of Araucanian culture who wrote in the early decades of the twentieth century.

American ethnologists have recently shown interest in exploring histor-

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PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to record the ethnography and, to a certain extent, the present-day ethnology of the Araucanians of Chile and Argentina, particularly their customs, beliefs, and traditions in relation to the development and training of the child. Information regarding the child's familial and communal environment is also included, for it seemed important not to ignore the milieu in which the child grew up. 121

No monograph of Araucanian child life is now available. The literature, according to the late Father John M. Cooper's word to the writer, contains little related to the child. This statement was corroborated by Carlos O. Hunziker, of the Universidad de Concepción in Chile, who also knows the Araucanian literature. 114

Of published materials Tomas Guevara's work in seven volumes, entitled "Historia de la Civilización de Araucanía" (1898-1913), is the most complete study. Father Cooper's "The Araucanians" in the Handbook of South American Indians (1946, pp. 687-760) is a comprehensive summary, mostly of first-hand material, of all important sources from the sixteenth century to 1946. Martha Thiery's recent study, "Araucanian Culture in Transition" (1951), is an excellent account of an area which shows the impact of Chilean culture. Studies in progress in 1952, dealing with the Argentine Araucanians, included one on medicinal plants by Nicolás Kuklinski, Ministerio de Agricultura, Buenos Aires; a dictionary by Félix San Martín, and one by Juan Steiger, both Argentines; a comparative study of Araucanian words by Hortensia Molinari of Buenos Aires; a recording of music, songs, and conversation by Christian Leden of Norway; and a collection of folklore by Bertha Elg-Koessler.

In this work, the psychoanalytical approach was not used as the study was an ethnographic one rather than a psychological one. However, certain psychological aspects that did emerge are recorded, and, since ethnography and psychology are interdependent, many more can undoubtedly be defined by psychologists. 121

This study was made during the summer months in the Southern Hemisphere. When it is important, because of seasonal events, the date on which information was collected is recorded. 129

The method used was that generally employed in ethnographic studies, namely, observation and interviewing informants in their 124

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Because of the absence of native villages, or of any other physical cohesion in the Araucanian country, the term "area" is used to designate groups studied: Alepúe area, Cofiaripe area, Panguipulli area, Boroa area. An "area" includes several settlements—a settlement consisting of a group of families formerly under the jurisdiction of a cacique. In Alepúe area, for example, such settlements are known as Chan Chan, Mehuin, Maiquillahue, Pelluco, and Tringle. The areas studied are within the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia, between latitudes 40° S. and a little to the north of 39° S.

The data for Part II were also collected by the writer with the help of Margaret Mondloch as field assistant. We interviewed Araucanians while in residence in their country from November 1951 to February 1952. Our information was obtained primarily in Territory Neuquén where the larger number of Araucanians live. Informants lived in areas known as Quilaquina, Pilpil, Trumpul, Malleo, Collón Curá (San Ignacio), and Lago Lolog. It is probably correct to say that practically all Argentine Araucanians today live between latitude 41° and 36° S. and longitude 73° and 78° W.—a few families live just north of this area, in the Province of Mendoza, and an occasional family to the east and to the south. Territory Neuquén is bounded on the north by the Colorado and Barrancas Rivers; on the west by Chile; on the south by Lake Nahuel Huapi and the Limáy River; on the east by a line drawn due north from the village of Neuquén to the Colorado River. (Cf. fig. 7.)

A phonetic key to the Araucanian language is found in Appendix A. Plants used by Araucanian informants of both Argentina and Chile are found in Appendix B; mammals, birds, fishes, and shellfishes, in Appendix C. Throughout the text, for the sake of economy, the scientific names have been omitted, but the reader can identify the various plants and animals by referring to the appendices.

The bibliography lists sources for both Chilean and Argentine Araucanians. It contains Cooper's sources (1946, vol. 2, p. 699), Brand's bibliography (1941, vol. 5, pp. 20-22, 26-29), and all titles collected by the writer in the libraries of the Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana, Medellín; the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá; the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Lima; the Biblioteca Nacional de Santiago, Chile; the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago, Chile; the Universidad de Concepción, Chile; and the Library of Congress of the United States.

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of a certain locality, in which case "the Huilliche are the people in the south around Osorno and still farther south; the Picunche are around Puerto Saavedra, to the north; the Pehuenche are east of here, east of Alepée, in the Cordillera [Andean highlands]; the Puelche are in Argentina; the Mapuche are here [Alepée] and in Toltén, Panguipulli, and Boroa. But all these people are Mapuche. They speak Araucanian dialects, but all can understand each other except for distinctly different words for the same things; we must learn these words." "We people here in Panguipulli," said an informant from that area, "are Pehuenche because we live in the Cordillera not far from where the araucarias grow, and we are related to the Argentine tribes; but we are Mapuche." To quote a Boroa area informant, "When we speak of the Pehuenche among ourselves we mean the Mapuche that live up there in the Cordillera where the araucarias grow. They live up there, and also across from there in the Argentine where the araucarias also grow."

Informants in any one area of Chile covered in the present study when speaking of Araucanians in the other areas called those of Alepée area on the Coastal Range the Mapuche of the Coast; those in Panguipulli and Coñaripe areas, the Mapuche of the Cordillera; and those in Boroa area, the Mapuche of the Plains. I use the term "Araucanian" for all areas, but in quoting informants I use the word "Mapuche."

Culturally the Chilean Araucanians were an agricultural people when the Spaniards first met them, and they are today. They had, and still have, domesticated animals. Hunting, which played a minor role in the early days, is nonexistent today. Fishing and gathering shellfish are today, as formerly, a means of subsistence.

Linguistically the Araucanians are an independent family, their language being classified as Araucanian. Dialectic differences occur from region to region; also, some words found in one region are foreign to other regions. Father Sigifredo, who spoke Araucanian well, remarked, "The various tribes of Araucanians, namely the Mapuche, the Huilliche, the Pewenche, and the Puelche—all call themselves Mapuche—speak nearly identical languages. It is said that these various peoples do not understand each other, but that is not true."

PRENATAL FACTORS

STERILITY AND FERTILITY

Of a childless couple the woman is believed to be the sterile person. Kind people say she is sick. In general she is not respected; in some

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with scissors, girls will be born to him; if with a knife, boys—a belief, non-Araucanians thought, taken from Chileans. This may have been known to schoolboys who warned a boy against using scissors in cutting his damaged fingernails. "A boy had better use a knife," one advised. The machi (sorcerer) had no power to produce sex. 842

In instances, it is believed, the sex of the unborn child can be predicted. If an expectant mother has much nausea, she is carrying a girl; also if her eyes have less color than usual, and her face is pale. If her complexion is fair and there is no change in the color of her eyes, she is carrying a boy. Also, if her last baby was a girl, and she has pain throughout her body during the present pregnancy, she is carrying a boy. If a man dreams of a falcon, his next child will be a boy. 787 842

REBIRTH

Araucanians have no belief in reincarnation. One old man had wondered about a child that he saw born with two teeth, but he had no explanation for it. Other informants had neither heard of nor seen a child born with teeth, with a patch of white hair, with snips out of the ears, or with scars—signs of rebirth among Chippewa or Arapaho (Hilger, 1951, p. 4, and 1952, pp. 5-6).[1] Beliefs regarding rebirth interested informants. "What kind of Indians can these be that they can be reborn!" 775 845

FOOD AND CONDUCT TABOOS

In Cañaripe and Panguipulli areas prenatal food taboos were not known to exist. In one section of Alepúe area a pregnant woman must not eat jaiba (rarilus), a small sea animal that attaches itself to a rock, or she will have a difficult delivery, for "the child will attach itself tight to the uterus." In another section of the same area, to prevent similar subsequent effects, all men and women of childbearing age and all children must refrain from eating jaiba. Two women, probably 60 and 80 years of age, when young had been instructed by older women not to eat jaiba, but neither of them believed in its supposedly bad effects. Both mentioned women and their husbands who had eaten it, and the women, they knew, had each given birth to many children and all deliveries had been easy. 262 843

[1] All references to the Chippewa in the present study are found in Hilger, Sister M. Inez, Chippewa child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 146, 1951; and those to the Arapaho, in Arapaho child life and its cultural background, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 148, 1952. [128]

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Introduction

Persistent military and political pressures emanating from Chilean society culminated in the defeat of the Mapuche and their settlement on reservations in what was left to them of their ancestral territory. Among the immediate effects of peace were changes in Mapuche economic activities. These changes also had side effects which ramified throughout Mapuche society. In this chapter I consider some of the most significant effects of conquest as these have modified the total physical environment to which the Mapuche must adapt in order to survive.

THE GEOGRAPHIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC SETTING

There are an estimated 200,000 Araucanian Indians living on more than 2,000 small reservations scattered over a large area in central Chile known as the Frontera or Araucanía (see Map I). Well over half of these Indians are settled in Cautín and Malleco provinces, the heart of the indigenous zone.[1] They call themselves Mapuche, which

[1] Information kindly supplied by the *Archivero General de Asuntos Indígenas*, Temuco, Señor Osvaldo Cossatto Solari, from an official report dated October 11, 1953, states that as of that date there were 2,200 Mapuche communities with full reservation status registered in the *Juzgados* of Temuco, Pitrufquén, and Victoria, and that they had a total area of 438,808.28 hectares. Approximately 1,500 of these reservations are in Cautín Province and occupy more than 250,000 hectares.

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Components of the Reservation Community

Rules of patrilineality and patrilocality are part of the Mapuche cultural heritage from prereservation times. The institutionalized sets of relationships which these rules imply, however, have been modified in the context of reservation life. The major adjustments to reservation living occurred more than a half-century ago, when localized, corporate patrilineages had begun to take significant form and when exogamy had begun to be defined with reference to the reservation community. The components of the reservation community have characterized it for at least fifty years, and the segments of Mapuche society have been in structural balance for at least that long.

In this chapter are considered the ideal constructs of patrilineality and patrilocality and the patterned exceptions to these. Historical processes underlying the contemporary structure of the reservation community are also discussed.

UNILINEAL AND RESIDENTIAL KINGROUPS

Patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence are and have long been basic integrative principles in Mapuche society. Their operation may be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, or the reservation community. A preliminary discussion of these basic groupings with reference to the Araucanian language will afford some insight into the way they are conceptualized.

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The Reservation as a Political Unit

In this chapter I propose only a partial consideration of Mapuche political organization, partial in the sense that the reservation is taken as a political entity vis-á-vis the Chilean government in the context of colonialism and the reservation system. The political issue of greatest importance is the status of Mapuche society. This centers around the "question" of reservation land.[1]

We have seen that chieftainship implies political as distinguished from purely kinship organization and that it hinges on the reservation system per se. In its body of Indian legislation, the Chilean government deals with Mapuche reservations as a totality. However, in actual practice at the local level of administration, the segmentary nature of Mapuche political units compels government agencies to deal with single reservations and individual chiefs in matters pertaining to reservation land. In this sense, each reservation is an autonomous political unit with respect to other reservations.

Reservation status entitles the Mapuche to special consideration in Indian courts and in the Ministry of Lands and Colonization. As

[1] I am arbitrarily excluding a detailed treatment of the ritual attributes of political leadership, as exemplified in the office of priest-chief (*filliatufe*), understandable only through a discussion of religious morality and its ritual expression. Mapuche morality is an important integrative force of sufficiently complex structure to justify its analysis in a separate monograph, and, for the most part, in the ethnohistorical context in which it thrives.

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595 former there is a structure of ranked co-wives and their offspring.

[178] I feel that part of the reason for the decline in the number of
[583] polygynous households is that land is too scarce to permit a single man to allocate several units of it as bride-price to acquire rights over multiple wives. The continuation of polygyny on the scale it was formerly practiced would result in a deprivation of rights of the younger generation of males, rights over land which entail rights
[178] over women. In order that reservation life might be supportable for males of the younger generation, elders have been forced to relinquish rights they formerly enjoyed over the acquisition of women.
[169] One especially important reason the elder generation seems to have been willing to make this concession is that it is the only manner of assuring themselves that there will remain a body of agnatic males on the reservation of their birth who will continue to propitiate their spirits after their death.

[128] In this section, most of the data are presented in particularistic form rather than stated in general terms. Information about compound polygynous families was obtained from too few examples on which to generalize. I will briefly cover a few salient points.

596 For one thing, a compound family as here defined need not incor-
595 porate a polygynous element, although it tends to. But it always involves half-siblings. Compound families can result from the multiple but not necessarily contemporaneous marriages of a man to two or
[581] more women. The sororate, widow inheritance, and remarriage of the widow may be polygynous or serially monogamous arrangements which result in the formation of compound families. According to my few observations and the statements of informants, it seems that polygyny is, nevertheless, a common feature of compound-family organization and that this has long been a Mapuche ideal.

595 There is some historical material which describes living arrange-
[596] ments within polygynous households, but there is not much descriptive data about interpersonal relationships – that is, not much that serves to differentiate polygynous arrangements from nonpolygynous compound and extended families. It is reported that co-wives were ranked and that the primary wife was most important in the management of household chores. It is not clear, however, whether the primary, secondary, etc., wives were ranked simply according to the order in which they were married, or whether there were other elements such as marriage wealth, the importance of family connections, and so forth. Neither are there adequate data concerning the division of

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Courtship and Marriage

Marriage among the Mapuche, as in other societies, establishes the elementary family and provides offspring resulting from the union a legitimate status in their father's patrilineage and reservation community. Marriage also initiates a structural modification in the relationship of two kingroups, insofar as the affinal ties it creates comprise potential series of new role and status relationships, affinal bonds ramifying through a more extensive social aggregate. The birth of children to the marriage sets up additional cognatic relationships and reinforces many of those already established.

Courtship, as distinguished from clandestine love affairs, is a relationship between a young man and woman which is regarded as the proper and romantic prelude to marriage. It has at least the tacit approval of the responsible members of the immediate families of the young couple and receives the full social sanction of the community. The young couple and their respective families are committed to the fact that marriage will take place in due course. With this understanding, courtship also provides a setting for premarital sexual relations on a level of respectability not otherwise attainable in Mapuche society.

This chapter is concerned with patterns of courtship and marriage as these characterize Mapuche society today. It deals briefly with pertinent attitudes toward sex and opportunities for premarital sexual

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activity, primarily to set the stage for a discussion of courtship and the implications of certain social changes for traditional courtship and marriage practices. Examples of illicit love affairs and premarital pregnancy are provided to help in understanding something of the sanctified aspect of marriage and the nature of exogamic organization. Marriage is then discussed in terms of its arrangements, in which section much descriptive data are provided to clarify the relationships which marriage establishes between two kingroups. The arrangement and structural significance of secondary unions are treated at the end of the chapter.

SEXUAL EXPERIENCE AND ATTITUDES

Older Mapuche say that young people today have greater opportunities for sexual activity than formerly. While the accuracy of this statement is somewhat tinged by overtones of moral judgment, it seems an essentially correct observation. Interpersonal contacts have widened in a number of ways. In the period of large unilocal households or *lofche* clusters, families were physically separated from one another and the extended-family groups were relatively self-contained. Young people were considerably more isolated than they are under today's crowded reservation conditions. Furthermore, in the past their contacts with peers were more often supervised by adults than they are today. Nowadays, contacts with a larger and more differentiated peer group are relatively sustained, rather than intermittent as they were several generations ago under different social conditions.

Preschool-age children associate with housemates and children of nearby houses while performing daily chores such as tending animals in pasture. School children participate in these activities in the afternoon and during the summer vacation period. They comprise the senior members of the group and act as its leaders and general counselors, and are founts of information about sexual matters. By and large, these groups are composed of closely related youngsters who are members of the same lineage and who tend not to engage in sexual experimentation among themselves, although they discuss sexual matters avidly.

Children are aware of their parents' sex activities and on occasion make lewd reference to them among their peers. Sexual intercourse between spouses takes place most often in the family dwelling at night.

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The Structure of Matrilateral Marriage

In the preceding chapter courtship and marriage customs were viewed in terms of social attitudes toward sex and opportunities for sexual experience among young people, the handling of illicit love affairs involving incest or illegitimate birth, matrimonial arrangements between kingroups, and the contraction of secondary unions. It was suggested that the apparently wider, freer, and more sustained relationships among peers during adolescence have not appreciably affected patterns of courtship and marriage. We will take up this point shortly.

In the present chapter, preferred matrilateral "cross-cousin" marriage will be considered in terms of its structure, that is, in terms of the ordered sets of relationships established between groups and individuals whose status and role sets are defined by membership in local descent groups or localized patrilineages.[1] One such group stands in a special relationship to one or more homologous groups with regard to matrilateral cross-cousin marriage.

The term "matrilateral" has been established in current anthropological literature, usually in place of "mother's brother's daughter," in connection with type marriages involving a man's mother's patri-

[1] For many of my observations about the Mapuche system of preferential marriage I am indebted to Leach's classic article, "The Structural Implications of Matrilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage," *JRAI*, Vol. LXXXI, 1951.

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Grateful acknowledgment is made to the following for permission to use previously published materials: the University of Illinois Press for the map of southern central Chile and Diagram II; *American Anthropologist* for "On Ancestor Propitiation Among the Mapuche of Central Chile," and "Symbolic Values and the Integration of Society Among the Mapuche of Chile"; *Ethnology* for "Death and Fertility Rites of the Mapuche (Araucanian) Indians of Central Chile"; and *Journal of American Folklore* for "The Magic Mountain and other Origin Myths of the Mapuche Indians of Central Chile."

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I would now like to indicate very briefly just what aspects of the moral system are dealt with in the chapters which follow, and why I have selected these for discussion. 128 121

Chapter One is designed to acquaint the reader with the general outline of Mapuche social structure. It summarizes much of my first monograph on the Mapuche, but is mainly concerned with underlining the moral implications of certain economic, political, residential, marital, and unilineal arrangements in Mapuche society. These moral implications are then elaborated and further examined in detail in subsequent chapters, especially with reference to the major ritual activities and the congregations involved.

In Chapter Two the most important supernatural beliefs are defined and arranged in a manner which lends significant order to the supernatural ambient. This chapter also contains examples of how persons are confronted by supernatural forces and how they react to them. I feel that the ethnographic accounts, ordered as they are, provide necessary substantive material for the reader to follow the more abstract sections contained in chapters devoted mainly to sociological inquiry.

Chapter Three contains the only well-rounded account of Mapuche ritual to appear in print. While I feel that this is justification enough for its inclusion in this monograph, I might mention that without this holistic approach to Mapuche ideology it would be difficult to present a social analysis of the moral order. Without this cultural dress, the bare bones of social relationships appear somewhat inadequate to an understanding of the moral fibre and the relationship between the value structure and the social structure.

Chapter Four attempts to bind together into a structural-functional interpretation all the threads of the moral system presented in previous chapters. As the chapter heading indicates, consideration is with social groupings operating within the structure of Mapuche morality, the composition of these groupings, the relationships expressed, and related considerations. The funeral ceremony (*awn*) and the fertility rite (*nillatun*) are

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analyzed in detail with regard to their structure and function in Mapuche society. Part of this analysis involves inquiry into the status and role sets of shaman and priest, and lends itself to a review of the historical record for the purpose of understanding the kinds of changes which have occurred both in belief and practice of a ritual nature. These changes are considered as social rather than cultural phenomena, and emphasis is placed on the relationship structures inherent in the reservation system.

Chapter Five delves into sorcery and shamanism and the continual struggle between the forces of good and evil. It contains much descriptive data but is essentially analytic in intent. It examines organizational aspects inhering in shamanistic activities and compares these to the sisterhood of sorcerers. The chapter concludes with an examination of shamanism and sorcery in reference to institutional solidarity at the local level of Mapuche society.

Chapter Six carries this kind of inquiry a step further. It examines the extent to which ritual beliefs and activities serve to consolidate the entire reservation-dwelling Mapuche population into an ethnic entity vis-à-vis Chilean society. Its main purpose is to present a total structural analysis of the system of symbolic values and institutionalized relationships to indicate significant correspondence between the ideological system and salient features of social structure.

The final chapter, Seven, discusses the concepts of constancy and change in a critical, though very selective, analysis of the impact of Western society on the Mapuche.

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One: OUTLINE OF MAPUCHE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THIS chapter provides background necessary to an understanding of the place and nature of religious beliefs and ritual practices in Mapuche society. It is designed to relate as closely as possible to Mapuche ritual salient features of other analytically separable structures, such as the economy, the systems of kinship and marriage, patrilineal and patrilocal organization, the family, the community, and the interlocking segments of the political system.

The Agrarian Economy of the Indigenous Zone

Some mention of Mapuche farming and animal raising is appropriate if we are to obtain a clear picture of reservation life and the sets of rights and obligations which exist among certain segments of any reservation community in the economic sphere of social action. It is important to note at the outset that the reservation system itself protects the Mapuche from direct competition with Chilean farmers, in great measure, and permits the Mapuche to live as an ethnically and socially distinct entity in southern central Chile.

Central Chile has some of the best wheat land in the country, but Mapuche technology does not make full use of this resource. In general the reservations are overgrazed and overcropped, and the population has tended to increase to the limits of the natural resources under the present system of exploitation. Restrictions on acquisition of new land inherent in the reservation system impose a considerable burden on the Mapuche and, on some reservations, constitute a seemingly insoluble problem. The greatest religious ceremonies of the Mapuche are directed toward mitigating their present plight and have come to involve larger and larger ritual congregations—a matter of great social significance.

Gardening and dooryard horticulture, which were consistent with small and shifting social aggregates during the centuries of

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It is not necessary to elaborate this point here. Suffice it that the economic role of the chief retains considerable importance—symbolic importance—and that this supplements and is in turn bolstered by his roles of political and ritual leader of the reservation community.

In order to understand the chief's role in labor organization we might take a look at alternative work patterns and, eventually, consider the structure of both the patrilineage and the multilineage-based reservation community. In my opinion, the changes which have taken place over the past few generations, and which could be outlined in some detail, are of less importance to this consideration than the contemporary resultant conditions. Therefore my discussion concentrates on contemporary synchronic analysis.

It should be mentioned that lineage groups have increased in size of membership and have a socially significant depth of from four to six generations. Members of the entire lineage, especially if it is a large one, seldom engage in economic activities jointly, but interhousehold cooperation continues and usually involves members of a segment of the localized lineage. In these cases work parties are organized by the sublineage elder, called cacique (Spanish) or lonko of such-and-such line.

Today, the family household is emerging as the basic economic unit on all reservations, and its members are tied individually to persons of other households, or to Chilean farmers and businessmen, rather than collectively as members of a larger group (i.e. lineage or sublineage) to some other economic grouping. Many of the rights and obligations involved in economic activity on the reservations have been removed from the purely kinship to the mainly contractual plane, but a substantial residue of traditional moral responsibility remains to distinguish Mapuche reservation economy from that of Chilean society. Much of this receives ritual expression in public ceremonies. There are many other aspects of traditional economic morality which, though observable, are less dramatically or ostentatiously expressed. It is to some of the former that I will turn my attention in later chapters. Here, however, I would like to consider some of the most common productive arrangements existing in Mapuchedom, largely in their secular aspects, for the

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purpose of providing the reader with ethnographic examples of the way in which labor is organized today. I discuss briefly *vuelta mano*, the medievo or half-share system, and *minga*.

Vuelta mano signifies an exchange of labor between persons and is one of the more important work arrangements known to the Mapuche. Two or more men who are kin, most often patrilineal kinsmen, enter into this relationship. While kinship is the basic ingredient of the arrangement, the *sine qua non* of trust, it is always overlaid by friendship and personal respect, by no means purely mechanical by-products of kinship. But in all cases, *vuelta mano* agreements are heavily imbued with mutual responsibilities of the partners set in a framework of kinship obligations. Quite simply, one man agrees to assist another with the understanding that he in turn will receive assistance in comparable labor on demand. Sometimes this agreement is solemnized by one of several symbolic acts, such as eating from the same bowl, after which the men are *mishe*. *Vuelta mano* arrangements, reaffirmed seasonally, sometimes engage the participants during their entire adult life and, by extension, often tend to perpetuate alliances between the same families in new generations mature.

The medievo system, working on shares, is of great importance to the Mapuche farmer, amounting to a means of allocating goods and services according to personal needs and abilities. Again, two persons are usually involved. The participants pool resources to their mutual advantage, sharing a harvest according to a rough calculation of the respective expenditures. One man provides land, as a rule, and the other supplies his labor, draft animals, and seed. On this basis each partner would likely receive an equal share of the harvest.

A sharecropping arrangement is usually initiated by those who have less land than they wish to farm and who seek out a man who has more than he needs or is able to use. Perhaps the most economically advantageous arrangement for the impoverished Mapuche farmer is to supply land to a Chilean who has working capital, or who has an abundance of animals and insufficient land on which to pasture them. In one case the Mapuche receives half of the harvest for providing land, in the other he receives half of the newborn animals. While the

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Government, Autonomy, and Jural Rights

128 648 In *Mapuche Social Structure*, I devoted a short chapter to the consideration of Chilean administration of Mapuche reservations, the history of this relationship, the changing role of chief, and the place of the reservation in the total schema. Here I will be even briefer, attempting only to relate Chilean control, Mapuche internal adaptation, and the nature of the politico-jural units as viewed on the one hand by Chileans and Mapuche in an Indian-white context and on the other by the Mapuche ethnic isolate—specifically, in regard to the relationship between the legal reservation and the ritual congregation, the latter having no legal status. My interest is in showing that the single reservation is a legal, political entity mainly from the Chilean point of view and, therefore, is such to a limited extent in the Mapuche frame of reference as well. This, however, does not take into account Mapuche congregationalism, which has special implications for chieftainship and the moral community.

621 648 613 641 One enjoys a set of rights by virtue of having been born into the reservation community, as already indicated in some detail. These are lineage-based rights, a more specific concept than that conceived of by the Chilean government. The Chilean government, through its Indian courts and other agencies, recognizes certain Mapuche rights and identifies individuals on the basis of their membership (by birth or marriage) in a reservation community. There is no awareness on the government's part that for certain matters the lineage structure is the defining framework of membership and that for others the framework is extended to alliance groups and the ritual congregation. Rather, 621 648 in the eyes of Chilean officialdom, the territorial entity "reservation" is the defining criterion. Mapuche are forced to deal with Chilean agencies on Chilean terms, their traditional conceptions minimized by Chilean authorities, who discount or ignore both supra- and infrareservational affiliations. It is little wonder that most Mapuche feel that the Chilean government fails to dispense justice, since there is little or no basis for common understanding.

The reservation system, then, has forced the Mapuche into an

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alien legal framework which has implications for the structure of kinship and marriage, the moral system, and other institutions. We find concern with chieftainship, law suits, government agencies, reservation titles, votes for preservation or dissolution (*división*) of a reservation, all phrased in a Chilean context and usually in the Spanish language. There seems to be in the Chileanized framework only the reservation community, a mapped area, comprising the jural community, autonomous of all other such reservation communities and related only to Chilean political agencies.

But there is another dimension to the jural community which is multilineal and multireservational, of which the Chilean government is officially unaware. In this sphere of social action we deal with customary Mapuche law (*admapu*); we enter the realm of the ritual congregation; we must consider the structure of matrilateral marriage; we must consider the entire area of supernatural environment. Here there is no question about legal status under Chilean law, which merely recognizes chieftainship in terms of discrete reservation units and only in its secular aspects. For an understanding of Mapuche morality, one must look to those larger-than-reservation and smaller-than-reservation units. The reservations are on the one hand creations of an alien government and on the other, now that they have been in existence for generations, real entities in Mapuche society. In any case, though, the reservation is always a segment of a larger entity, the ritual congregation.

In this monograph, I make no systematic inquiry into the structure of dual systems of morality. Rather, and somewhat arbitrarily, I select for discussion only those aspects of this larger relationship system which are of direct importance for the traditional moral order and associated ritual. There are essentially three areas into which separate inquiry may be made: (1) that of the relationship between the Chilean government and the single reservation, and the effects of this orientation on the residents of the reservation community (described in *Mapuche Social Structure*); (2) that between several reservation groups which constitute a ritual congregation, itself a complex structure; (3) that of the relationship between total Mapuche society

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121 and these sectors of Chilean society with which it comes into
128 contact, a subject which I give brief consideration in the concluding chapter. It is the second area of relationships which I have selected for detailed treatment in this book, and to which I turn my attention in Chapter Four.

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Two: DIMENSIONS OF THE SUPERNATURAL WORLD

THIS chapter attempts to place in significant order concepts about the most sacred supernatural forces and beings operative in Mapucheland. It is concerned with the ideational aspects of Mapuche religion. Mapuche are socialized in these beliefs—so successfully that Christianity does not appear even as a significant veneer over traditional belief.

Mapuche religious lore consists of a body of beliefs to which an unlimited number of people subscribe with a great amount of agreement. The concepts and statements concerning the attributes of gods, afterlife, malevolent forces, although exhibiting significant regional variation in certain details, present a fairly consistent picture throughout Mapucheland. Among the Mapuche, generally, it may be said that most persons who participate regularly in ceremonial activities have quite similar notions about religion and about performances. Similarity of belief and action, therefore, has a certain regional expression, and the region defined by the anthropologist and the Mapuche themselves is greater or smaller depending on the level of generalization on which beliefs and actions are analyzed.

While there is marked cultural uniformity throughout Mapucheland, there is significant regional variation in emphasis placed on the propitiation of acts of gods and deified ancestral spirits. Mapuche deities are anthropomorphic and anthropocentric, most of them differing from one lineage group to the next. This is difference of a social nature, within a framework of great cultural homogeneity. Its significance may be understood best by maintaining as separate analytical tools the concepts of culture and society, the failure to do so having resulted in a number of unfortunate interpretations of Mapuche religion to date.

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Nguechen and the Pantheon

The Mapuche have a numerous pantheon, consisting of major, minor, and lesser deities. Respectively, these may be called ethnic, regional, and lineage deities. The organization of concepts denies significant Christian influence, but there have been, or appear to have been, inroads. Although I discuss this aspect of acculturation in the final chapter, it might be useful at this point to indicate the kind of change Mapuche religion might have undergone as a result of Christian missionization.

Let us say that *Nguechen* is a Supreme Being for most Mapuche. This is generally true, whether or not *Nguechen* is conceived of as the same or distinct from the Christian God. *Nguechen* is called the god of the Mapuche, and this should not be taken lightly. Outspoken Mapuche say that the whites have their god and the Mapuche theirs. It is difficult, however, to establish with any certainty how generalized this belief is in Mapucheland, for reasons which I shall elaborate later. Nevertheless, whether conceived of as the same or as distinct from the Christian God, *Nguechen's* apical position in the pantheon might well be a result of Christian influence. It is important to note in this regard that *Nguechen* is called Supreme Being only when Mapuche use the Spanish language. Since it is not customary for them to render this concept in Araucanian, the ritual language, it is always difficult to discern to just what extent the Spanish rendition reflects Mapuche thinking. In any case, the supremacy of *Nguechen*, in the Christian sense of divinity, is inconsistent with much of Mapuche belief. Mapuche notions of the opposition of good and evil forces, however, provide some logical basis for the implantation of at least some Christian concepts.

Nguechen is not considered omniscient or omnipotent. He is called "god of the Mapuche," "ruler of the Mapuche," and several other terms of almost identical meaning. Often, during the ceremonial recitation, prefixes such as *chau* (father) or *kuse* (good) are used when *Nguechen* is invoked. There are other gods who are sometimes identified with *Nguechen*, though most often they are not—at least not in formal ritual expression.

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for the *shompalwe*, and after once killing their first victim they become insatiable, continually on the prowl to obtain victims.

Visions of departed kinsmen in dreams do not necessarily mean one will become ill, as I have already indicated, but they do have an unsettling effect on the dreamer. Dreams of good omen are discussed with relatives, whose agreement is sought that the dream is without doubt a good one. Because there is nearly always some feeling that ancestors could have been treated better in life and propitiated more often and with more care in death, people tend to feel unsure of their appearance in dreams. If there is not full agreement about the import of a dream, a person usually pours frequent libations and offers personal prayers to his ancestors, and one might even seek the counsel of a shaman before the ill effects of the dream are actually experienced. There is a margin of safety present, since the effect of a bad dream as well as that of all black magic works slowly. One, therefore, has to have recurrent dreams of ill omen, or has to be repeatedly exposed to magical forces, before illness takes firm hold. However, an individual who deliberates on his evil fortune is prone to interpret minor ailments as serious ones and actually sickens from fear. The shaman, then, is the only available recourse.

Key Origin Myths

Mapuche mythology is rich and varied, pan-Mapuche myths having many local expressions. I have selected three myths from this large inventory in order to show particularly the fundamental nature of Mapuche mythology and to indicate how this relates (as it does not in all cases) to notions of morality—good, evil, and redemption.

The import of local variation is sociological rather than culturological. The basic theme of the first myth, that of Tren Tren and Kai Kai, variations on which are reported in all important works on the Mapuche, is common knowledge to all Mapuche. The local expressions or variations involve the fabrication of linkage between contemporary Mapuche and their supposed ancestral progenitors, the founders of the Mapuche "race." This fabrication is of the same order as genealogical manipulation, mentioned in the previous chapter. It is a binding

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Three: DEATH AND FERTILITY RITES

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THE religious ceremonials and otherworld notions held by the Mapuche are among the most stabilizing forces operative in their society. How they have changed will be discussed in the concluding section of this chapter, as well as in the final chapter. But regardless of change, their symbolic value is of enduring cohesive power, and changes which have occurred in both ritual and belief are consonant with the structure of Mapuche society. It is likely that only since the reservation system brought the Mapuche into blocks of contiguous, immobilized communities in the indigenous zone has religion pulled them together in such large numbers. In this
• [128] chapter, I would like to examine the rationale and the cultural dress of Mapuche ritual, the ideological framework of the structure of religious morality.

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Funeral observances and fertility rites account for the greatest assemblages of people among contemporary Mapuche. Any large gathering may be called *kewin* or *trewin*, even those held for secular purposes. Field hockey matches (*palikantun*), or *mingaco* labor parties, or the recent innovation, soccer, are all *kewin*. But these essentially secular affairs do not have the symbolic content of *füllatun* or *ewn*, which may also be referred to as *kewin*. Those who assemble to watch or participate in sports or cooperative labor are considered "interested parties," a select group in some instances, but one composed of persons who are not engaged in these activities because of kinship alignment or membership in a ritual community.

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While secular events make for interreservational contacts of a fairly wide range, these are transitory. The events themselves draw participants and spectators from a number of reservations, but they are qualitatively different from *füllatun* and *ewn*. While there are ritual overtones to *palikantun* and *mingaco*, the substance of the relationships is not ritually conceived. The players or workers, as the case may be, are selected for personal ability, or for the special resources, such as draft animals and

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Four: THE RITUAL CONGREGATION: LINEAGE AND LOCALITY

THIS chapter offers a description and an analysis of the relationships existing between *ovun* and *küllatun* with regard to the structure and composition of Mapuche groups which regularly participate in the great seasonal fertility rites and the recurrent funeral ceremonies. These memberships comprise a ritual congregation through which they participate in the largest public ritual in Mapucheland, rituals of importance to the cohesion of small blocks of reservations, as well as to that of total Mapuche society. The main concern for the moment is with both the patrilineal and the local or regional (geographical) features of the ritual congregation—that is, relationships among lineages localized on particular reservations as these group into neighborhoods or ritual congregations.

The structure of Mapuche society would appear to lend support to the Durkheimian thesis that public ritual practices and shared religious beliefs revitalize the community and contribute to social integration. In order to test Durkheim's hypothesis on the Mapuche, however, it is necessary to discover and describe the components of the ritual community, show why they are as they are, and discuss how they are related and how they are formed. Furthermore, it is necessary to show in detail how Mapuche ritual expression and morality comprise a single conceptual system governing social action. In doing this, the supernatural content of Mapuche morality becomes the emphasis.

I believe it is significant to mention that Mapuche religious ritual may be characterized on one hand as an essentially uniform system of belief and action, taking into consideration local variations which appear as regionalisms. On the other hand, and mainly from a sociological point of view, local variations are not variations at all, if by this is meant some departure from standard or normative procedure or belief.

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621 613 794 [128] more than one subordinate lineage on them. A further departure from the ethnographic material is that the E group (possibly) consists of four reservations and the H group of five. My data about these congregational units are incomplete, and I have confined my discussion to the tripartite congregational units as models. This device, however, affects the graphic presentation of marriage ties, as these are indicated by the arrows. The arrows indicate the flow of women, in marriage, from one reservation to a segment of another. I have shown the necessary minimal number of arrows to establish marriage links of a patterned (matrilateral) nature among the reservations in the model. The fact that there are two more subordinate lineages on reservation A, for example, from which women pass to two others on B, or elsewhere, does not affect the value of the abstraction for the purposes of this discussion. The additional ties follow the matrilateral pattern. The ones which occur within the congregation are of importance in indicating that there are even more multiple and sustained marriage links than shown in the model. Ties which exist with reservations outside the congregation, not indicated in the model, must be considered with respect to the definition of the congregation itself, and with reference to the correspondence between ritual and marital links, and, therefore, are of considerable importance to this discussion.

621 613 178 [194] It is only since populations became fixed, localized descent groups on many small, contiguous reservations that patrilineal principles of descent, inheritance, and succession may be said to have crystallized in the formation of corporate patrilineal groups with a tendency toward increasing, localized membership. We may speak with accuracy of corporate patrilineages only during the reservation period. After the inauguration of the reservation system alliance patterns came to involve wife-giving and wife-receiving units in the context of which multiple and sustained marriages were contracted over several generations. Before this system became firmly established, marriages were contracted on an intrahousehold rather than on an interlineage basis, and these ties were not generally revalidated over several generations because household units would split and their members move considerable distances over Mapucheland. The reservation system put an end to this shifting and made for the beginnings of

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Five: SHAMANISM AND SORCERY: THE SISTERHOODS AND THE STRUCTURE OF SOLIDARITY

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THIS chapter contains much ethnographic material supportive of a structural-functional interpretation of shamanism and sorcery in Mapuche society. Out of the descriptive material certain problems will emerge. These will be discussed to some extent seriatim but will be analyzed with reference to Mapuche solidary relationships in the latter part of the chapter. Some historical judgments will be made and historical interpretations of others judged. While the main emphasis of this chapter is synchronic analysis, historical insight into Mapuche symbolism will be of some help in understanding contemporary notions of good and evil.

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Machi: Marshalling the Forces of Good

It is because of her ability to cure illness and prevent death that people place their faith and trust in a *machi*. She always requires a good deal of awe on the part of her clients and people in general, for she spiritually enters the realm of supernatural beings and forces. In a manner of speaking, the *machi* enters the body of Indian, communes with and is possessed by the forces of good and is thereby able to control the forces of evil. The *machi* is the most emotionally active member of any community in dealing with right and wrong. Her livelihood and her spiritual survival depend on preoccupation with Mapuche morality. Her close association with the sacred realm of Mapuche society symbolizes her separateness from ordinary people.

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The Mapuche shaman's paraphernalia and curing practices have a good deal in common, at least in outward appearance, with the classic Siberian shamanistic pattern described by Bogoras and others. Her basic props consist of a *kultrun* (shallow drum made from a wooden bowl covered with animal skin), a single drumstick (always decorated with symbols of special significance to the *machi*), bells and/or a gourd rattle, a

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strong enough to result in mutual fears and accusations of sorcery, and how are these feelings channeled? And what are the "functional" and "dysfunctional" aspects of sorcery? In attempting to discover this, it seems best to examine Mapuche society *in* terms of fundamental segments such as the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reservation, and the ritual congregation. Individuals and families engage in witchcraft within the context of these larger groupings.

It can be said at the outset that Mapuche suspect Chileans of being sorcerers. In terms of total societies, the unity of this sentiment among reservation Mapuche is noticeable. More acculturated Mapuche do not necessarily share this prevalent view, although they do to a degree which is surprising in face of their assertions that they are truly *civilizado*. Chilean society is more differentiated in its feelings about Mapuche sorcerers. The peasant element almost alone of all socioeconomic categories manifests any real fear of Mapuche sorcerers, although a belief in their prowess is more general. Mapuche and Chilean supernatural beliefs may be said to overlap in the rural areas, where the concepts *wekufe* and *duende* are mutually intelligible and *kalku* and *bruja* are roughly of the same ilk. *Machi* and *curanderu* have much in common, although the latter is considered to be much less endowed with supernatural power than the Mapuche shaman. As a rule, Mapuche tend to regard their Chilean neighbors and tradesmen as potential witches, while rural Chileans are likely to regard as witches only those Mapuche with a reputation of professional sorcerer, rather than all their neighbors indiscriminately.

In the foregoing sections sorcery was discussed in terms of the kinds of evil inflicted on victims and the manner in which people were victimized. In general, sorcery results in death or misfortune. More specifically, surreptitious "murder" (any unexplained death), uncommon illness (contracted under unusual circumstances or unduly prolonged), strange mishaps and injuries, loss of valued objects, bad luck with crops and animals (while neighbors are prosperous) are major headings under which supernaturally induced misfortune is categorized. Not all evil is of the same order. In the next few pages, I will attempt to outline or sort out various kinds of calamities resulting from [128].

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754 [28] sorcery, as these apply to different social groupings in Mapuche society.

[178] [753] On inquiring into the prevalance of witchcraft, I was sometimes told that people nowadays regard the usual illnesses as a result of natural causes, but in all cases this statement was refuted by the unguarded statements and actions of the very informants who provided this sophisticated judgment. Such a reversal itself speaks for the prevalence of a concern with sorcery. If in fact the fear of sorcery has diminished, its incidence in the past must have been astounding. I can say that roughly 20 percent of the population (at least 50 percent of the adults) on each of the five reservations I studied in detail had at one time or another used sorcery to gain advantage over others. On two other reservations, one that had been divided recently into severalty holdings, and another which was undergoing division, almost 75 percent of the adult population had been accused openly, or themselves had levied charges, of sorcery. Most of the charges were made by women against other women, and on each reservation there was at least one old crone whom nearly everybody suspected of being a witch. The intensity of feeling apparently rose and fell according to whether there seemed to be renewed cause for suspicion. Nearly every adult female above the age of forty had visited a *machi* at least once in [756] her life, some women fifteen or twenty times, although I am not certain if all such visits were for the purpose of getting supernatural cures against sorcery. I suspect that sometimes no more than medicinal remedies were sought. While it is very difficult to obtain information about the number of people who have engaged the services of a *kalku* or have themselves practiced witchcraft, it is a relatively simple matter to tabulate the number of times each person engaged the services of a *machi* for cure or protection. Although this is no more than indirect evidence of the prevalence of witchcraft, it indicates that nearly every person who reaches maturity has some experience with the supernatural which requires shamanistic assistance.

754 578 571 Mapuche achieve some measure of integration by picturing themselves prey to out-group sorcerers, whether the point of reference be the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reserva-

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Now, Mapuche ritual values, if one may judge from descriptions in the literature and from definitions in lexicons, have remained relatively unchanged over the years since the establishment of the reservation system, if not for centuries. What then of ritual activity? Simply this, that among the observable changes in ritual action already described, there has been a constancy of the sort I have discussed. Constancy, as I understand it, implies adherence to the thread of Mapuche tradition, expressed both in belief and institution-aliated action, a concordance between present-day beliefs and activities and those, for example, described by Latcham, Guevara, and others around the turn of the century. I regard this adherence to tradition as constancy because, (1) changes which have occurred represent no significant departure from *admapu* (customary law), and (2) the time depth since the establishment of reservations is sufficient to make judgments about the net effect of infra-structural modifications on continuing social behavior. These are admittedly gross criteria, but they at least establish the grounds for phrasing and testing hypotheses and have relevancy to the material presented in this book.

The vignettes of Mapuche life presented in this study were selected often as contrasts to average, expectable behavior, as exceptions which bring the rules of social action into sharper relief, and were not offered as examples of general accommodation to reservation life. The stories about incest, about dealing with witches/we, about male shamans, and so forth, were intended to underscore the rules of Mapuche society and normal activities, insofar as they represented breaches and uncommon behavior. There would be no need to mention this if it were not for the fact that others before me had cited exceptional behavior, or had generalized individual affective states and responses, in a manner which implied that these aberrancies would serve to indicate and illuminate trends or patterns and so forth. It is of no special importance to the structure of Mapuche society that some men might well prefer to go to town, get drunk, visit a brothel, and do any number of other acts than take part in *nillatun* or *elun*. It is of no importance at all unless of statistically significant frequency, analyzable as a pattern variable or some such concept. What is of major importance is that the vast majority of Mapuche do